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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

ALMOST three years have passed to a day since Eugene V. Debs sprang into prominence as the leader of the great railroad strike of 1894. That strike has passed into history as remarkable for the interference of the Federal judiciary, culminating in the imprisonment of the strike leaders, not for inciting to riot, not for a breach of legislative law, but for contempt of court, for refusal to recognize the stretching of a law, by the court, unquestionably beyond the intent of its authors, seemingly to the point of an assumption of legislative powers by the judiciary, and to obey orders issued by the courts under authority of such law. Such orders were issued under a stretch of the authority of the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890, but as the Supreme Court, the court of last resort, has upheld the interpretation placed upon this act by the lower courts, declared the stretching of a law passed avowedly for the suppression of trusts and the protection of labor so as to make it applicable for the oppression of labor, to be fully warranted, we have not a right, perhaps, to speak of such twisting of an act so as to serve purposes never conceived by its framers, as an assumption, by the judiciary, of legislative authority. At any rate, we must accept

such interpretation for the time being; it was under such interpretation that Debs was sent to jail.

That there was grave occasion, in the suspension of the wheels of commerce, the paralyzing of industries, the grievous loss entailed upon innocent persons deprived of transportation facilities, for governmental interference to put an end to a strike that was tying up the trade and industry of a great nation, we do not question. What we do question was the injustice of the manner in which this Federal interference was carried out.

The great strike of 1894 was the result of a resolve of railway employees to boycott the cars of the Pullman Car Company, a refusal of railroad employees to run trains to which were attached the sleeping cars of the Pullman Company. The employees of the Pullman Car Company were on strike, and it was to render assistance to such employees in their struggle that the employees of the railroads resolved to boycott the Pullman cars. By so doing, they hoped to bring the Pullman Company to terms. The railroads insisting upon the carriage of Pullman cars, or rather being held to such insistence by their agreements with the Pullman Car Company, the railroad employees refused to move the trains and a tie-up resulted.

Thus we see the strike of the railroad employees was purely sympathetic. The strike grew marvelously, and a general tie-up of the roads running out of Chicago soon resulted. The inconvenience and loss to which men were put, dependent upon such roads for the transportation of the products of their industry, was almost inestimable. Industries were forced to close down and men deprived of the opportunity of labor. Inter-state commerce was interfered with, efforts to move trains were followed by destruction of property, a destruction seemingly welcomed by the roads, and much magnified by the metropolitan press, making common cause with the railroads in an effort to divert public sympathy from the strikers by traducing them.

FINALLY, the paralysis of trade resulting from the strike growing more and more intolerable, the federal courts were appealed to. The losses entailed upon the whole community by the struggle between the railroads and their employees, and the tying up of the railroads, were grievous, and the courts said the roads must be run, that the general public must not be made to suffer because of disagreement between the railroads and their employees. Thus far, the position of the courts was defensible, but when, in putting their decision into force they treated labor as having no rights, and capital as infallible, they made a grievous mistake, did as grievous an injustice, as the injustice they sought to rectify. They decreed that the roads must be run, and that in order to run the roads the employees of the railroads should go back to work and continue to work upon the conditions offered by the roads. They never thought that capital owed as much to labor as labor to capital, and that there was no more reason to force labor to accept the terms of capital, than to force capital to accede to the demands of labor. But the courts decreed that the wage-earner should accept the terms of employer, and so

Debs, as leader of the strikers, was served with an injunction ordering him to declare the strike off, to surrender, and order the strikers back to work. He refused, and refusing he was arrested for contempt of court, along with other leaders, while still others were threatened with the same fate.

Thus the backbone of the strike was broken, thus did the federal judiciary lend itself to capital to triumph over labor. Injustice was done to the railroad employees, for when the Government denied them the right to protect themselves, it was in duty bound to extend its strong arm for their protection, to protect labor where it denied to labor the right to protect itself. Debs carried his case, on appeal, to the Supreme Court, only to have the judgment of the lower court affirmed and ultimately he suffered the penalty of contempt, suffered imprisonment for six months for refusing to order men to work against their will, and so ended this period of his career.

ALL the foregoing is old history, though the interference of the judiciary in disputes between wage-earners and railroads is a living issue. We recall it only because Debs has entered upon a new path that has brought him into public prominence in a new rôle. Having suffered and felt the aggressions of capital, having had experience of the triumph of capital over labor, he has gravitated rapidly to the belief that the only escape of labor from the aggressions of centralized wealth, the only hope of freeing labor from the bondage of capital and making capital the servant of labor, rather than labor the slave of capital, is to be found in communism. And it is in furthering this belief and in laying plans for organizing a commune that we now find Debs bending his energies. That he is in earnest and fully convinced of the feasibility of his plans for successfully launching a commune, where there will be no private property, no working for selfish ends, but where all property will be common property and the fruits of all labor be put in a common pool to be equitably divided among all people, cannot be doubted. That the Utopia he has in mind is but a mere dream that he will never see realized we are convinced. The success of the commune is dependent upon the elimination of selfishness from the human breast. So long as men are prompted by selfishness, the commune, where there is no common property, and built on the idea that "that government is best governed which is least governed, and that government is perfectly governed which is not governed at all," cannot succeed, for men will seek and will get the better of their fellows, will prey upon the toil of others, and when men so prey the commune must collapse. Men must reach perfection before the commune can succeed.

It may be said that we need not carry the commune to the extreme, that though the dream of perfection is a state where every man would have a regard for the interests of his fellows, treat every man as a brother, and where there would be no need of the restraint of government, that we can and would apply the restraint of government in the commune just so far as necessary to restrain the impulses of the selfish, and oblige them to deal justly with their fellows and accept their share of the common wealth. In brief, argues Debs, we see trusts organized by individuals with success, we see individual socialism put in practice with great profit, therefore, let us establish one great trust, let us form one great combination of all our industries and put them under the direction of the Government to be managed in the interests of all the people.

And it is in this that Debs' movement is significant. We cannot shrug our shoulders and ignore it for there is a reason, and a deep reason, for its existence. That reason is the growth of trusts, of individual socialism, and if we cannot free ourselves from the exactions of individual socialism we must inevitably turn to national socialism, absorb all the individual trusts into a great national trust as the remedy.

That such a result is calculated to promote the progress of the human race we do not believe. Competition, the very spirit of selfishness, the desire for self advancement, an ambition that is laudable when its attainment is not sought after in pulling down or preying upon others, is the great incentive to enterprise, energy, invention, and as such is the spur to the advancement of the human race. Therefore we cannot look upon socialism and the elimination of competition, as an end to be desired for its own sake. We look to socialism, to the public ownership and control of properties, as desirable only where such properties partake, in the hands of individuals, of the nature of private monopoly, for, as private monopoly eliminates competition, gathers about itself all the disadvantages of monopoly and profits the individual at the expense of the many, it would be desirable to substitute in such cases national monopoly, so that the whole people, instead of the few, would reap the profits of monopoly.

AS WE have said, such movements as that of Mr. Debs have their origin in the growth of trusts and combines. Those who tolerate trusts and combines are inviting the experiment of the commune. Of this there is no question and it would be well for Republicans who have befriended the trusts, yet who are shocked by the very mention of communism, to take heed of the upshot of the path they are so blindly pursuing. To decry such movements as that of Debs as revolutionary and to pick out the warnings of Debs and mutilate his paragraphs so as to make it appear that he would attain his dream by the sword, will serve no good purpose. There is a reason for that movement in the encouragement we give to the growth of trusts, and if we do not remove that reason, such movements will continue and spread. The failure of Debs to colonize Washington and by force of numbers turn the State over to communism, and we cannot see how it can but fail, will not be the end or the culmination of similar movements if we leave the impelling cause undisturbed.

IN building a tariff for the protection of trusts the Republicans are building up to more than they conceive. They conceive they are building a tariff that will lead to an enhancement of the profits of the trusts and the enriching of those who have entered into combines for exacting a tribute from our people in the shape of undue prices. But they are overshooting their mark, for they are building up an intolerable state of affairs, relief from which will be sought in the Government taking over and operating those enterprises that have united in combines and trusts with the view of restraining competition and lifting prices. And when the Government takes over such properties it will take them over and pay for them at their real valuation. It will make no allowance for watered capital. The fostering of monopoly, the wiping out of independent producers and the formation of trusts will but end in the wiping out of the trusts in socialism. The Government, that is the people, will be obliged under stress of such conditions to take such properties and operate them in self-defense. The combination of enterprises with a view to monopolizing production will but result in the taking over, by the Government, of enterprises that would never so much as be touched, if operated independently.

So in voting down the Pettigrew anti-trust amendment, the Republicans, even as championing the interests of the trusts, were not wise, for by so doing they were sacrificing the future existence of the enterprises they would promote for the garnering of a temporarily enlarged profit. And while unwise, even as champions of the trusts, many Republicans, in voting to protect the trusts, have lost the confidence of hundreds of their supporters and committed political suicide, committed political suicide without so much as advancing the interests of those they sacrifice themselves to advance. The pressing of such an amendment, aimed at the Sugar Trust, as that proposed by

Senator Nelson, an amendment that amounts to nothing more than a repetition of the legislation already on the statute books making combinations in restraint of trade and competition illegal and a criminal offense, legislation that has proven futile, will not serve to distract the attention of voters from the fact that every Republican in the Senate voted against the Pettigrew amendment and for a tariff for the protection of monopoly in preference to a tariff for the protection of our whole people. It so happens that all the opposition to a monopoly tariff and support of a tariff for the protection of our whole people has come from outside the Republican party.

LAST Saturday saw the first reverses of moment suffered by the Republicans in pressing their tariff through the Senate. And the question of the protection of monopoly played a large part in the rejection of three or four paragraphs prepared by the Republicans. The first reverse they suffered was in the adoption of an amendment striking out the specified duties on Japanese mattings. These mattings have been imported in great quantities during the past few years, and being very cheap they have fitted in with the impoverishment of our people, who, finding it hard to make ends meet, have been obliged to forego the luxury of ingrain carpets. If it had not been for these mattings, costing but a tithe of the cost of ingrain carpets, many a floor now covered with these mattings would be bare. Filling the places formerly filled with ingrain carpets it looks, at first glance, as if these mattings had displaced the demand for carpets, that the importation of these straw mattings has seriously curtailed the market for carpets. But the true cause of the falling off in the demand for carpets is that people have not the money to buy them. Many can spare the money to buy the Japanese mattings who could not spare enough to buy carpets, and the fact that there have been increased importations of mattings for such people to buy has not caused a material falling off in the demand for carpets.

What these mattings do come into more direct competition with are the linoleums, and these are manufactured by a trust formed to raise the cost of linoleums to the American people, and such trust, it was urged with effect, was not entitled to the protection of tariff duties. It was further urged that the importation of such mattings made a homeward cargo for those vessels carrying flour to Japan and China as an outward cargo, and that to prohibit such importations and deprive the vessels taking our grain to the Orient of an inward cargo, would oblige them to charge higher rates for the outward cargoes and thus seriously hamper our growing flour trade with China and Japan. On these grounds the paragraph in the bill providing for the imposition of tariff duties on straw mattings was stricken out.

This first break in the Republican defense was at once followed by a further break, when, on a plea of cheap bagging for the farmer and the assertion that the chief makers of jute bags in this country are the convicts of the California prisons who are scarcely in need of protection, the paragraphs and duties on jute yarns, jute bags and bagging for cotton were stricken out.

THE old maxim of "find out what your enemy wants you to do, and then don't do it," seems to have been superseded by a new "find out what the Sugar Trust doesn't want, and then go do it." So repugnant has the Sugar Trust grown to our people, a repugnance which has grown as the Trust has shown its ability to secure a tariff schedule to its liking, and so inbred is the belief that the interests of our people are the opposite of those of the Trust, that all that is needed to gather support from certain quarters for a proposition is to announce that the Sugar Trust opposes it.

This well merited hostility to the Sugar Trust has been adroitly availed of by the advocates of Hawaiian annexation. It is asserted that the Sugar Trust is hostile to annexation as secur-

ing a continuance of importations of sugar from the Hawaiian Islands free of duty. As these sugars are used largely by the Spreckels refineries in San Francisco, it is assumed that the ability of these refineries to get their sugars duty free, while the Trust refineries have to pay a duty on the sugars they use, gives the Spreckels refineries an advantage in competition with the Trust. This is plausible, but, as a matter of fact, the Spreckels refineries are in thorough accord with the Trust, and it makes no difference to the Trust whether Spreckels gets his sugars free of duty or not, for there is a division of territory between the Spreckels and Trust refineries, the Spreckels sugars being sold, by agreement, only west of the Missouri river and the Rockies, and the Trust sugars having a monopoly of the markets east of the agreed line; there is no competition between them, and it is of no concern to the Sugar Trust whether the profits of the Spreckels refineries are swelled by free Hawaiian sugar or not. So it is groundless to urge annexation on the ground that the Sugar Trust is hostile to such annexation.

As to the recent dickering over the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian islands, there is a most plausible explanation. The agreement of the planters as to the sale of their sugar to the San Francisco refineries coming to an end, a new agreement being in order, and the planters deeming themselves entitled to a larger share of the profit resulting from the remission of duties under the reciprocity treaty, held out for a higher price. Then, very conveniently for the sugar refineries, the Senate came along with the proposal for abrogating the treaty, thus threatening to wipe out all the extra profits accruing to the Hawaiian planters and the San Francisco refineries from our bounty. The planters thus alarmed at the prospects of loss, and the refineries, armed with the threat of reciprocity abrogation which they were convinced was never intended, were given the whip handle in the negotiation with the planters. Purposely or not, the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee put it in the way of the San Francisco refineries to drive a hard bargain for their raw sugars.

WHAT is to be done with Hawaii is not quite clear. We quite agree with Senator Bacon, of Georgia, that the United States should not annex Hawaii without a distinct declaration that it at no time should be entitled to statehood. We cannot hold out the promise of statehood to an island with twenty-five Mongolians and an equal number of natives and Portuguese to every American. It is represented that criticism on the ground of the mixed population and large number of Chinese and Japanese residents is without force, as these foreigners are not citizens and are not allowed to vote. But even granting the possibility of the continuance of such relations this is no answer to the objection urged to the incorporation of the islands as a territory, with the prospect of statehood, on the ground of mixed population and the presence of nearly 40,000 Mongolians, nearly all males, in a population of 110,000, for there would be no justice in apportioning representation according to population and thus let the handful of Americans vote for these disqualified voters. Moreover, how could we admit Hawaii to statehood and refuse, under the XVth Amendment to the Constitution, to allow the Japanese and Chinese to register and to vote if they chose and so make a Mongolian state of Hawaii?

There is another reason advanced for Hawaiian annexation, namely, that about \$30,000,000 of American money is invested in the islands and that to look after such interests we should be in control of the islands. If we applied the same reasoning to ourselves we would hasten to renew our allegiance to Great Britain for Britain has about \$5,000,000,000 of capital invested in the United States.

It is now nearly three months since the House passed the Dingley tariff, and these three months, as was to have been

expected in the face of an anticipated raising of customs duties, have been months of large importations. And being months of large importations, they have been months of large revenue. Thus it is that the deficit in revenues has been cut down since the introduction of the Dingley bill in the House by \$20,000,000 and the cash reserve in the Treasury built up by nearly an equal amount. But it is worthy of remark that in spite of the greatly increased imports of the past three months, our importations for the first eleven months of the fiscal year actually fell short of the imports for the similar months of the fiscal year 1896 by \$44,000,000. At the same time our exports have greatly increased, the result being that at the close of the eleven months of the fiscal year ending with May last, the merchandise balance in our favor reached the unequalled total of \$298,180,659. In addition to this, our net exports of silver for these eleven months were \$29,319,683, a total favorable balance of \$327,500,142, from which we have to deduct net imports of gold of but \$51,184,881, leaving the immense balance of \$276,315,261 available for the payment of our foreign indebtedness.

Yet, despite this, we still find ourselves called upon to export gold. This surprises some people who do not appreciate that we have interest charges of \$200,000,000, rather more than less, annually due our foreign creditors, that we owe them a further annual sum of \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 for the use of their ships, and that our people who annually go abroad call for a drain of not less than \$50,000,000, to cover their expenses. But what surprises some people even more than the export of gold is the fact that foreigners, despite the great accumulations they have, despite the ease of the money markets, want more gold badly enough to pay a slight premium for it and thus hasten the export of gold in advance of ordinary mercantile requirements. Thus we have gold exported with exchange below the recognized point at which gold can be exported at a profit under ordinary conditions. The payment of a premium for gold keeps exchange below the normal shipping point, but it is quite clear that if exchange had not been made by and sold against these exports of gold made at a premium, the demands for remittances abroad would have overtaken the supply of bills drawn against merchandise exports, that exchange would have risen, and that the deficiency in the supply of bills drawn against merchandise exports would have had to been made good by the drawing of drafts against gold exports. The premium on gold has simply advanced the dates at which gold would have been exported under normal conditions.

THE willingness of foreigners to pay a premium for gold, even though money is easy and a drug on the loan market is the most natural thing in the world. Gold occupies quite an exceptional place among commodities. It is rising in value as it has risen almost steadily for 25 years. Nearly all other commodities are falling. Naturally men prefer to store up wealth in gold which is rising in value than to store up commodities which are falling. So we have keen rich men keeping their wealth in gold, content to lend it out at low rates of interest, for it is not the interest so much that they are after, as the unearned increment growing out of its appreciation. To invest their money in commodities falling in value, or in industrial enterprises producing commodities falling in value, men have no temptation. To do so is to invite loss. They would rather lock it up in idleness and so secure the unearned increment from its appreciation, rather forego all return as interest than to make loans at large rates of interest to industrial enterprises, for loans made to such enterprises when prices are falling are not safe. So it is that we have gold in great demand and a premium offered for it, for although looked at through interest spectacles, gold is cheap, almost unloanable; looked at through commodity spectacles gold is dear, and growing dearer, and almost unpurchasable, for men do not want to exchange gold rising in value for commodities falling.

Thus it is that there is plenty of cheap money for good bonds and mortgages on first-class real estate in big cities, but none for industrial enterprises. Consequently money becomes congested in the banks, and flows irresistibly to the financial centers, a flow that is accentuated in the United States by the legalized custom of the country banks keeping a part of their reserves on deposit with the banks of the larger cities, classified as reserve cities. We are pleased to see that Senator Teller has re-introduced a bill he introduced in the 54th Congress, requiring all national banks to keep their reserves in their own vaults. But as a bill of identical import, introduced early in the present session by Senator Allen, is pigeon-holed in the Senate Finance Committee, we do not look for anything to come of this renewed effort of Senator Teller.

THE question of our intervention in Cuba to put an end to the struggle that is desecrating that island seems to be resolved into one of the almighty dollar. To the sufferings of our fellow men, to the waste of life by famine and by sword, to the horrors of a contest fought on the barbaric plan of Spain's contest for the subjugation of the revolted Netherlands in the sixteenth century, to an inhuman edict that condemns thousands to die of starvation, we have turned a deaf ear, but attention is called to the effect of the war on our trade, our Secretary of Agriculture makes a report showing our loss in dollars and cents, showing the injury to our material interests, showing that our trade with Cuba has fallen from \$102,864,204 in 1893, to \$47,548,610 in 1896, and that it will not exceed \$20,000,000 for 1897, and, presto, intervention becomes popular where it has been scouted, while we are told a decided impression has been made on the administration, deaf to appeals of humanity, but now alert to the appeals of the pocket. So men, swayed by their pockets, stamp themselves as worshippers of Mammon. It is humiliating, yet we may hope that the love of gain will drive us where our sense of duty, of justice, of humanity has proven too weak to impel us.

WE have had yet another instance of our subjection to Mammon during the past week. We have had the disagreeable fact drawn before our eyes that our higher institutions of learning are worshippers of money, not of truth; that there is no space for freedom of thought on economic subjects that come within the train of political questions within their walls; that our teachers must do the bidding of money, must teach the doctrine that it is ordained for the rich to prey upon the poor, must pander to the ideas of those who may be looked to for endowments.

Dr. Andrews built up Brown University from a mere school until it now holds a foremost place among American universities. To him belongs the credit of this growth, but, unfortunately for his personal comfort, his studies and his sense of justice have impelled him to antagonize the appreciating gold standard as dishonest, as inequitable, as a force of retrogression, and to avow the policy assailed as one of dishonesty, of repudiation, to be the one of honesty. And now, runs the story, Rockefeller was about to endow the university with a million dollars in commemoration of the graduation of his son. But he could not see his way clear to endow a university with a silver man at its head. This was his right; no man is called upon to contribute to the teaching of that which he does not believe. But here comes in the humiliation. The trustees thought more of the endowment than freedom of thought, of opinion, of teaching. So they came to the resolve to ask Dr. Andrews to step down and out, that obstacles may be removed to the enrichment of the university, an enrichment at the cost of the degradation of the altar of knowledge, truth, and freedom of thought. We have, indeed, become worshippers of Mammon.

THIS is from the evidence given in a criminal court of New York in the case of the officers and directors of the American

Tobacco Company, familiarly the Tobacco Trust, now on trial for entering into conspiracy in restraint of trade. The leading tobacco dealer of St. Louis, Mr. Hauptmann, was on the stand. He said that one day the St. Louis agent of the Trust came into his (Hauptmann's) store and saw some Admiral cigarettes piled up in stock. Witness had bought them a few days before. The agent of the Trust looked at them in surprise, and said, "You are not allowed to sell these cigarettes under our contract, I will report this at the head office." As a result the secretary of the Trust, Mr. Browne, came on St. Louis and met witness. Browne then said that he could not allow witness to handle Admiral cigarettes. In case witness continued, he (Browne) would be obliged, he declared, to quit consigning witness any more of the American Tobacco Company's goods.

Such are the ways of a trust for securing a monopoly of trade.

THE OLD PARTIES AND A NEW.

WHEN old parties outlive their usefulness, when they cease to live up to the principles that gave them being, new parties are given birth to take their place. It was belief in the equality of man, equality of opportunity, equality of burden, belief that man is entitled to his labor and the fruits thereof, that no man is created to be the hewer of wood and drawer of water for him who renders no service in return, belief that every man is of right entitled to freedom of thought, freedom to employ his labor as he deems best without restraint, unless that labor be exercised to the detriment of his fellow men, entitled to freedom of action, politically and industrially, unrestrained by the arbitrary inhibitions and exactions of foreign task masters, bent on self-enrichment at the expense of those they did not serve, that called our Republic into being. It was insistence on equality that drew the lines between Patriots and Tories, it was in defence of equality that the Revolutionary War was fought.

So it was in the very essence of equality that our Republic had its birth. And equality has ever since been the cardinal belief of those who have defended our institutions, upheld our Republic, for equality is the essence of democracy.

It was as the champion of equality that the Democratic party had its birth. The exaltation of the States over the National Government had a foremost place in the tenets of that party. So it was that the Democratic party, partly by force of circumstances, stood for a strict construction of the Constitution, thus antagonizing the old Federalist party, the party of Adams and Hamilton, the party of a broad construction, of broadening the powers of the National Government at the expense of the States. To this doctrine of strict construction the Democratic party did not rigidly adhere. Fearing the centralization of power in the National Government, believing that such centralization was antagonistic to the fundamental principle of equality around which our institutions were built, believing that the logical outcome of broadening the powers of the central Government would be the overthrow of democracy, the Democratic party, with Jefferson at its head, stood forth as the party of States Rights. But when the doctrine of States Rights stood in the pathway of the advancement of the nation, blocked the progress of national growth, blocked that which would unquestionably promote the general weal, Jefferson threw such doctrine to the winds.

The occasion arising when he was convinced that a stretching of the Constitution was to the best interests of our people and would conserve not threaten the great doctrine of equality, Jefferson refused to be bound by party prejudices, he stretched the meaning of the Constitution to serve a great end. Thus he brought about the purchase of Louisiana from the French, though he could not defend such purchase as a strict construction-

ist. And so to-day, to anticipate, do we find the Democratic party, yet posing as the party of States Rights, giving a broad interpretation to the constitution, where strict adherence to the words of the constitution would force the party to abandon the advocacy of national policies dear to Democratic hearts. Thus we see Democrats giving a broad interpretation to the Constitution in order to uphold the constitutionality of an income or inheritance tax, while many of their opponents, impelled by self-interest, insist on the unconstitutionality of such taxes, insist on overlooking, ignoring the intent of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, although the heirs of the old Federalist party and professing their belief in the exaltation of the powers of the National Government at the expense of the States, by giving a broad interpretation to the constitution—a belief that is more than a profession where bending their plans to secure the exercise of such powers in their interest.

Under Jefferson, and so long as it followed the precepts of Jefferson, so long as it bent its energies to the conservation of equality the Democratic party grew and triumphed. Under Jackson it triumphed signally over its opponents, and after a temporary setback in the election of General Harrison in 1840, it seemed to become more firmly ensconced in power than ever.

But a new issue, over the settlement of our western territory was pressing irresistibly to the fore. The question of permitting or prohibiting slavery in the new territories knocking for admission into Statehood, a question postponed for years by compromises that made Clay famous, but settled nothing, spread to the whole country. It became the living issue, and the Democratic party, at least the larger part of it, stood forth as the champion of slavery, denying to the negro, because of his color, the right to sell his labor or the fruits thereof, denying to him an equality of opportunity, insisting that he was born into the world to be the hewer of wood and drawer of water for others' not his own benefit, that he was ordained to carry the burdens of others, and that the doctrine of equality, not be it understood of ability or energy, but equality of opportunity, did not apply to him. As a race the negro, may be, doubtless is, inferior to the Anglo-Saxon, he may not have the same ability, the same energy, but that he has a right to make use of such ability, such energy as he may have, for his own profit and advancement, and not the enrichment of some other and his own degradation, will not, in this generation, be denied.

So the Democratic party, stopping short with its doctrine of equality, declaring that some men were entitled to an equality of opportunity, but not all, a new party arose to take its place. The Republican party had its birth as the champion of equality, equality for the white and black alike. It gained, as the party of equality, what the Democratic party, untrue to its cardinal tenet, fearing to apply its grand doctrine to the equality of all men, lost. So the Republican party became what the Democratic party had claimed to be, and, under Jefferson and Jackson, had, in large measure, been, the party of equality, of liberty, of democracy.

When the question of slavery became foremost, the Democratic party championed slavery, championed the doctrine that might makes right, that power and strength has the right to enjoy the fruits of others' labor, that the weak may, rightly, not only be deprived of an equality of opportunity, but made to bear the burdens of the powerful, ceased to live up to the grand principle that gave it being, outlived its usefulness and so lost its hold upon the people. But the party that took its place has been false to the principle of equality. It has lent itself to the moneyed interests, been made the tool whereby the burdens of the rich have been placed upon the backs of the poor; not only this, but the tool whereby the burdens falling upon the producers of wealth, and by which the moneyed interests benefit have been increased. How this has been done through a monetary system

that has quadrupled debts incurred during the war, doubled debts incurred twenty-five years ago, quadrupled them by the appreciation of the greenback, doubled them by the appreciation of gold; how debtors, the producers of wealth, have fallen under such crushing burdens, how their property has been transferred to the speculative cliques and the once independent producers reduced to tenants and laborers; how our railroads have been used to further destroy an equality of opportunity and lead to an inequality of burdens through discriminating between different producers, and how producers have thus been crushed down and a betterment of their condition prevented, it would be but a repetition to go into here.

But to such ends has the Republican party lent itself. Having become the party doing the bidding of Mammon, strengthening the hands of those who do not produce wealth, but enrich themselves by preying upon the fruits of others' labor, it can no longer serve the people. So as this tendency to advance the interests, not of the general public, but of the speculative cliques, the pirates of modern society, has grown over the Republican party, the Republican party has lost support.

Thousands of men, feeling the effects of the Republican shortcomings, feeling the pinch of poverty, the scarcity of work, the beating down of wages, the grind for an existence, but not recognizing the cause, lost confidence in the promises of the Republican party. Party ties came to rest lightly upon them, they listened to the promises of the Democratic party, they voted the Republican party that had been false to the cardinal truth of our institutions, equality, out of power, and they voted the Democratic party that had been equally false, in.

No relief came, for the Democratic party was as much the servant of inequality as the Republican party. It promised relief, but offered, or if it did, could apply no remedies. So a disappointed people gravitated back again to the support of the Republican party. General Harrison was elected as a result. Nothing came of it for General Harrison, as President, did not champion the doctrine of equality, though he gave promise of so doing before his election. He stood by the appreciating gold standard that was increasing the burden resting upon all debtors and pouring an ever increasing share of the products of labor into the laps of the money lending classes, he did nothing to rectify the evils growing out of our railroads, railroads operated in the interest of the cliques, not of their stockholders or the public they were built to serve. So the inequality of burdens, the inequality of opportunity, grew; the cliques, through the railroads, giving greater opportunities for the accumulation of wealth to the producers willing to pay a tribute to the cliques or in whose profits the cliques shared, than to those independent producers who would not share the profits of dishonesty with the cliques, or whom the cliques were bent on ruining with a view to taking their property at wreckage prices.

To expatiate, those producers willing to compound dishonesty with railroad managers to get an advantage over their competitors have secured such advantage. Rebates in freight rates have been allowed such producers in consideration of said producers' returning a part of the rebate, to whom? Not to the railroads and the stockholders at whose expense such rebates have been, and are continuously, systematically made; but to the managers of the railroads, the men chosen by the stockholders to look after their interests. Of course, the producer thus getting a lower rate than his competitors by what is nothing less than bribery, bribery of men to sacrifice the interests they were chosen to protect, enjoys an advantage over his competitors. He can undersell them, ruin their trade, bankrupt them. And here comes in the second opportunity of the railroad managers or the cliques behind them and owning them. The properties they have ruined by unjust discrimination are offered for sale and sold at, perhaps, but a tithe of what they cost. The result

is the cliques come into possession of valuable properties, made valueless by their machinations, and which they can make valuable again by removing the discriminations in freight rates, or better, by discriminating in favor of the products of such properties, at but a little outlay of capital. Thus they manage to gather the fruits of others' toil. And to prevent this injustice Mr. Harrison raised no hand, no more than he raised a hand to put a check to the appreciation of gold. The Sherman Act authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly and the issue of treasury notes in payment therefor, was indeed passed during his administration. But Mr. Harrison deliberately turned round and discredited the silver purchased under that act, declaring silver to be unfit for redemption purposes.

So our people, deprived of an equality of opportunity by an appreciating monetary standard and intolerable railroad discriminations working to bring industrial properties into the hands of the cliques and build up trusts, had much cause for complaint. There was much reason for the impoverishment of the many and the aggrandizement of the few. In the face of such conditions the McKinley tariff, even if it had been thoroughly protective, that is protective of the interests of consumers as well as of producers, and not protective in great part of monopolies, could have brought no relief. For a decade and more the growth of industrial trusts, of monopolies organized to exact undue prices from consumers, has been most marked. Wherever they have risen under the shelter of the tariff, they have of course defeated the true end of a protective tariff, which is to encourage competition, which trusts stifle, to lead to a diversification of industries which domestic trusts are organized to prevent, to reduce the real cost of products by bringing producer and consumer near together thus minimizing transportation charges, to reduce prices by competition to a level commensurate with the costs of production while the aim of trusts is to raise prices to the level of monopoly.

So a tariff duty when trusts have taken shelter behind it and monopolized production ceases to be protective. It must become an instrument of oppression, the trust being enabled because of such duty to raise prices higher than would be possible if subject to foreign competition. Tariff duties thus imposed for protection, and protection of the consumer equally with the producer, but failing of their purpose, having resulted in oppression not protection, should be promptly suspended, but it is not fair to attribute the growth of trusts to the protective tariff and so condemn the whole system. The great causes for the growth of trusts have been two, first, the appreciation of gold and fall in prices which has undermined the profits of industry and made it well nigh impossible for producers to keep their heads above water save by combinations and an arbitrary restriction of production, thus artificially keeping up prices; and second, the discrimination in transportation charges in favor of clique enterprises. The result of such discrimination is that independent producers are weeded out while the clique industries prosper. Thus industries become centralized, not only in a few hands, but in such localities as are arbitrarily given the benefit of the lowest transportation rates. And thus centralized, and the railroads being an effective weapon by which to stifle out competition such as might be invited by an artificial raising of prices, the organization of trusts, the securing of a monopoly, and the raising of prices becomes an easy and sure way of centering the wealth produced by the many in the hands of the few.

A continuance of such injustice being not only tolerated by Mr. Harrison in suffering the aggressions of the railroads to continue, but stimulated by his adherence to the policy of falling prices, thousands of voters, feeling the evils of such injustice, even though not understanding the causes of their growing impoverishment, turned from the Republican party in disgust. The Democratic party had failed before when they turned to it,

for Mr. Cleveland, its leader, though professing belief in the doctrine of equality, evinced no disposition to act upon such belief. So thousands of disgusted voters were at sea. There was political chaos. Republican and Democratic parties having turned on the great principle that called them into being, the Populist party was born to champion that fundamental truth of our body politic, the defense of which the old parties had laid down.

Traded though it was by the metropolitan press, without money, with an organization to build, the new party had a marvelous growth. The million votes that it polled in 1892 stand as a monumental registration of disgust with the old parties, a protest against inequality, a warning of a coming revulsion of popular feeling of which the Democratic party took heed in 1896, taking a great step to put itself in accord with the principles of true democracy—we use the word in its broad, not its narrowed party sense—equality of opportunity, equality of burdens. Taking such step the party recouped itself in a great measure, was remade out of the wreck that Mr. Cleveland made of it, and it entered the campaign of 1896 with aggressiveness and force, falling but a little short of success. If the party would go forward and lead, become the defender of equality in truth as well as profession, and not confine itself to protesting against the injustice and inequality brought about by demonetizing silver, ignoring the injustice, the inequality bred in our railroad system, it would have a bright future. But failing to put forward the remedy for such inequality, a remedy which is none other than government ownership and control of our transportation systems, its career of usefulness and success is at an end. It is dead, and a new party, built up from the Populist party, not of necessity or by preference going by that name, and uniting all those ready to join in defense of liberty, of the preservation of our Republic, recognizing the equality of men, must arise to take its place.

But to turn back to 1892. Thousands listened to and accepted the promises of the Democratic party. The tariff was put forward as the breeder of trusts, and to the existence of these trusts was attributed the manifest inequality of opportunity and burdens leading to the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many. Numerous trusts had unquestionably been sheltered by the McKinley tariff, and the people voted to overthrow it. But as the great causes of the growth of trusts—they have arisen in all gold standard countries of late years,—were to be found in other causes than the tariff, as the inequality of opportunity and burdens from which our people suffered, was, as it is largely the outgrowth of an appreciating monetary standard and of railroad discriminations, relief was sought in a wrong direction. This our people soon found to their cost. Mr. Cleveland bent his efforts to cause money to still further appreciate. He forced the repeal of the Sherman Act, threw an increased burden upon gold, caused that metal to appreciate and prices to fall. The profits of industry fell away, mills and factories were closed, there came industrial stagnation, a falling away in railroad traffic and therewith of railroad earnings. As a result foreigners lost confidence in our securities, they refused to let us settle the interest on our great foreign indebtedness by sending them more of our securities, by running further into debt, as had been our practice for years; we could not pay such interest charges, in addition to paying for our imports, by the exportation of our products, for prices were so depressed that greatly increased exports went no further in the payment of debts. So we had to export gold, the demand to supply this gold fell on the National Treasury, greenbacks and treasury notes being presented for redemption, and to provide for such redemptions we were driven to borrow gold. This but resulted in accentuating the demand for gold, accentuating the fall in prices, accentuating industrial stagnation.

Such was what the election of Mr. Cleveland did for our

people. He accentuated, he did not relieve the inequalities of opportunity and of burdens. The Democratic party did, indeed, make one commendable, though small effort, to equalize the burdens of taxation, by the imposition of an income tax, but such tax was declared unconstitutional, and so nothing at all was done to promote equality, while much was done to promote inequality. Naturally the thousands of men who had gravitated from party to party only to find promises unfulfilled were disgusted. The Democratic party was rent in twain. By repudiating Mr. Cleveland and his policy of spreading inequality through a dear dollar, it pulled itself together. Though it failed of success it made itself a factor. But if it is to remain a leading factor in American politics it must, we repeat, antagonize the cliques working through our railroads for the upbuilding of a monied oligarchy upon an impoverished people, as it promises to antagonize them working through our monetary system. In short, it must stand for equality, and the party of equality must stand for free silver coinage, must stand for the issue of all paper currency and the control of the volume thereof by the national Government, must stand for the Government ownership and control of our transportation facilities, the control of our railways for the use of all our people without preference or discrimination, even as the control of our waterways. To give some producers more favorable rail transportation than to others is as intolerable as it would be to exact tolls for the use of our waterways from some of our people while granting their free use to others.

The tariff is no longer a question at issue, save it be a question between a tariff for the protection of our whole people and a tariff for the protection of monopoly, the decision of which can never be doubtful before the forum of the American people. There is no longer a free trade party, and the tariff as a question of free trade is dead. It has been buried by the new Senators from the South. What is more, the Democratic party is dead with it unless that party expands to meet the issues coming before our people.

But though the issue of free trade *vs.* protection has been laid aside by the votes of Democratic and southern Senators it is not a little startling to find a southern Democrat announcing the fundamental truth of protection, standing forth as the disciple of protection after the Republicans have repudiated protection for protection's sake, and declared for protection of monopoly. Yet this is what we find in these closing days of the nineteenth century. It is Senator Tillman who comes forward as the true defender of true protection when the Senators from New England defend it no longer. "It is for the best interests of the American people, as a whole, judged from the standpoint of statesmanship, to produce what we consume." So said this Senator of South Carolina, the State of Calhoun, of nullification, and continued, "If there be any industry in this country which, by reason of foreign competition, cannot live and give us diversified labor, or more employment to our people, and which, by a small tariff, can be protected to the extent that it can get on its feet, I say it would be wisdom to give it."

But, continued the Senator, "I say you ought not to allow a single trust or combination to come in here (the United States Senate) and get a duty on anything, because you levy unjust tribute on the American people whenever you do it."

And what is this if it is not true protection?

Senator Tillman then went on to say, "I claim to be as good a Democrat as ever walked in shoe leather, as I understand the principles of Democracy, which are equality! equality! equality!—equality of opportunity, equality of burden." Ah, if that was Democracy, who would not be a Democrat? if that was Republicanism, who would not be a Republican? if that was Populism, who would not be a Populist? But that is not Republicanism, it can never be Democracy while the Democratic party refuses to stand as the protector of our people from being preyed upon by

the speculative cliques through our railroads; it can never be Democracy while the Democratic party stands ready to tolerate individual socialism in our railroads, a socialism that taxes the many for the benefit of the few. Republicanism was once the synonym of equality. It is not to-day. Nor can Democracy be regarded as synonymous with equality when the Democratic party stops short of preserving equality, stands content to see our railroads prey upon our people, and thus do away with an equality of opportunity.

The past points to a new party, a new party of equality, a new defender of human rights, as the party of the future. That party will embrace the cardinal tenets of Populism, but it will, we believe, go by another name. It is best that it should be so, for so its growth would be most rapid. Under a new name can the discordant elements, not alone in the Democratic and Republican parties, but in the Populist party itself, now split in twain, be brought together with least friction, and therefore most successfully. No organization, no work already done would be lost. Present organization would be availed of, and better availed of, because of a new party. The hope expressed by Mr. Towne in addressing the convention of Silver Republicans in Chicago some days since, the hope of a new party by 1900, a party standing for equality, equality of opportunity, of burden, wherever that may lead, is more than an idle dream. The AMERICAN PARTY, the party of equality, of human rights, will be a reality by 1900.

Our suggestion of some weeks since, of such a party, has met with significant response. Populists as a whole care but for principle, not for name; they are willing to do that which will secure the triumph of human over property rights. Democrats of breadth urge but one objection, namely, the loss of the support of the blind followers of a name. Such objection is worthy of consideration, but the contest before us, the contest for equality, for liberty, is not to be won by headless pawns. It must be won by thoughtful men, men with a knowledge of what is at stake, of the supreme import of the contest, and willing to struggle accordingly, struggle to the last breath, subordinate party pride, personal preferences, petty differences and mutual jealousies to the advancement of the one great end, the acknowledgment of the one great truth, equality, or it will not be won at all.

THE TARIFF, BIMETALLISM AND THE TRUSTS.

AS THE tariff debate draws to a close and the passage of the bill seems to be in early and assured prospect it is timely to take a retrospect of the building of the measure. At this late day in the debate and in view of the treatment accorded all suggestions not dictated in the interest of the trusts, the prompt rejection of such suggestions showing that the aim of the framers of the bill is to build a tariff for the protection of monopoly, it may well be considered fruitless to urge amendments to the bill in the interest of the general public or to strive to bring about changes in the bill aimed to bring about a betterment of trade conditions and make of the bill a veritable restorative of prosperity. Yet it can scarcely be out of place to enter a plea for the amelioration of the lot of our producing classes however deaf to reason may be the ears upon which such plea may fall. Seed sown now may later fructify and no man whose heart is not steeled to the privations and sufferings of his fellows can ever relax his efforts to secure justice to his fellow men, to free them from the burdens that are the cause of their impoverishment and uplift their lot by securing them in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, free from the exactions of monopoly.

So ere the bill passes into law we feel bound to once again point out its shortcomings, to once again urge its amendment so that it will serve other purpose than to stand as an object lesson

of the futility of Republican promises and as a monument of misplaced confidence. It is but poor satisfaction to the well wisher of the human race to pester a suffering humanity, to meet complaints of aggravated distress made by the deluded followers of false guides, with numerous "I told you so's;" it is but poor satisfaction to tell suffering men, even though they may have voted their own privations, to look upon their sufferings as the penalty of their own mistakes and to repent of their folly. Experience may be a necessary teacher, but it is a hard hearted teacher, costly of mental and bodily comfort and energy, that men who have learned the lesson can scarcely welcome for their fellows, especially as they who have learned the lesson must share the cost, the privation entailed, when other teachers failing, recourse is had to the teacher of experience.

It may be that the hard lessons of experience are least costly in the end, that it is through such lessons that relief is earliest to be found, that a spasm of distress is less severe and its effects less lasting than a less severe, but more prolonged distress, and that for such reasons an object lesson of the futility of Republican remedies for industrial depression is to be welcomed, yet those who see the futility of such proposed remedies would be remiss if they failed to point out in advance the shortcomings of the Republican remedial legislation, and did not strive to strip such legislation of its shortcomings and secure the perfection of the measure along true remedial lines. If those who see the true remedy do less than this, they cannot in the future clear themselves of responsibility for the accentuated conditions of trade depression and industrial stagnation which they foresaw, but did not strive to avert.

Representatives in Congress foreseeing the futility of the proposed Republican remedial legislation, anticipating an accentuation of industrial stagnation, suffering and distress to follow such legislation and striving to do nothing to avert it, but rather inviting it as an object lesson, will unquestionably and not unrightly be held by their constituents as remiss in their duties, as responsible in part for the continuance of hard times, and as such be visited with the wrath of a disappointed people, a wrath that if they left no stone unturned to remedy futile legislation, yet failed, would fall alone upon their political opponents. So it is that practical politics demands of men to do that which is right. It is true that the pressure brought upon Congress for the prompt passage of the tariff bill is great, that the protests against delaying the enactment of the tariff bill by pressing amendments unacceptable to the Republicans, yet without which we believe the tariff bill will fail of its avowed purpose, are hard to withstand, but men who believe in the futility of raising the tariff to bring revival, and who announced such belief during the last campaign, owe it as a duty to themselves and their constituents to do what they can to avert a continuance of trade depression and industrial stagnation, and to point out the path that may serve in the future to guide those now misguided by specious pleas or party prejudices into the light of truth and a realization of the causes of existing hard times and the remedy.

The Tariff and Bimetallism.

It is therefore we regret to see the silver protectionists in the Senate,—who, thorough believers in protection, are convinced that protection, under the gold standard, is a mere sham,—seemingly resolved to make no earnest effort to show the connection between bimetallism and protection, to show that bimetallism is the keystone of the arch of protection, that without this keystone the arch of tariff protection by which the Republicans would build up prosperity must fall to the ground. Senators who believe in protection, yet believe that protection must be built up around bimetallism, should at least record their belief. Not to record their belief and so point out a path that will attract in the future those who now scoff at bimetallism is a mistake.

There are now in the Senate twelve Senators believing that

protection without bimetallism is a mere sham, or at least signed a declaration of principles, only a little more than a year ago, to that effect. Some of these Senators supported Mr. McKinley for the presidency, and now stultify themselves by joining hands with the other Republicans in putting forward a restorative of prosperity that they declared to be a fraud. From these men we expect nothing. But there are three protectionists in the Senate and who a year ago joined with their then Republican colleagues in declaring a protective tariff to be incompatible with the gold standard, and who hold themselves free to act independently of the Republican party.

We yet look to these protectionists to urge an amendment to the tariff bill providing for the opening of our mints to free silver coinage. Such an amendment is needed, in their opinion, to round out the tariff bill as a protective measure. As the tariff bill without such an amendment is lacking of the keystone that would enable it to stand as a restorative of prosperity, such an amendment should be pressed. It should be pressed, even though the chances of adoption are nil, to make clear several points. First, the great need of our manufacturers is an increased market for their goods. This market can only be made by a restoration of bimetallism. Second, that the depreciation in the gold price of silver, caused by the closing of the mints of the western world to free silver coinage, has resulted in building up a premium on gold of 100 per cent., which, as the value of silver in silver-using countries has not materially changed during the past quarter of a century, has had the effect of increasing the cost of everything bought by silver-using from gold-using peoples, the gold price of which has not been halved. Third, that this same premium on gold has enabled the silver-using peoples to halve the gold price at which they can sell their products in gold markets, and still get the same price in silver, 50 cents in gold being worth to-day as much as \$1 in gold was worth in 1873. So the result of our taking up with the gold standard has been to rear an import tariff around silver-using countries, and against our exports of 100 per cent., for it is this that the doubling of the silver price for all articles of gold standard source, and for which the same gold price is asked as twenty-five years ago, amounts to. The further result of our suicidal policy has been to encourage competition from silver standard countries by the payment of a bounty of 100 per cent., on everything they export to gold standard countries, for the premium on gold, which has enabled silver-using peoples to cut prices in half in gold markets without reducing the price received, amounts to this.

So, when we build up a tariff while holding up the premium on gold by keeping our mints closed to free silver coinage, we are in the anomalous position of seeking to protect our manufacturers from competition by raising tariff duties, while encouraging competition with them by offering a bounty of 100 per cent. to their competitors. We go through the folly of seeking to check imports by custom duties while encouraging imports by the payment of a bounty. Not only do we do this in our own markets but, by clinging to the gold standard, we give a permanency to the premium on gold and thus rear up a bounty for the benefit of our great agricultural competitors upon everything which they export to the gold-using markets of Europe where their products enter into competition with the products of our farms. Thus we are guilty of the folly of encouraging our competitors for the European markets by the payment of a bounty of 100 per cent. The result has been to stimulate competition with the consequence that prices for our agricultural products have been cut in half. Consequently, the income of our farmers has been much reduced, and thus they have been driven to curtail their purchases of manufactured goods. So we have, as the result of our folly, a diminished market for manufactured goods and manufacturing depression, depression that we set about to cure by the raising of tariff duties with the avowed purpose of preserving our own markets, and thus broadening the demand for manufactured

goods, something we cannot accomplish, for the home market we would preserve, we have ruined, and made incapable of making any broadened demand for manufactures. The broadened demand will come when we restore bimetallism, when we tear down the bounty now enjoyed by our competitors in the European markets, when we thus free our planters and farmers from this unnatural competition, enable them to command better prices for their products, increase their incomes and so their purchases of manufactures.

Thus it is that bimetallism is the keystone to the building of industrial revival through the tariff, for the re-establishment of bimetallism can alone make the broadened market for manufactured goods that we would preserve by raising tariff duties. Therefore it is that the restoration of bimetallism should be made the first end of the framers of a protective tariff. It is a matter of regret that silver protectionists have not presented and pushed such an amendment. We hope that they will do so yet.

The Tariff and the Trusts.

It is quite true that the tariff bill, as it is being pressed to passage, has many and great shortcomings other than the absence of the keystone of prosperity, the keystone that must make an increased market for our agricultural products and hence an increased demand for manufactured goods, namely, bimetallism, and around which a tariff, to be of substantial benefit to manufacturers, must be built. These shortcomings resolve themselves around the fact that the tariff, as a measure of protection for consumers, has been lost sight of, and has been regarded by its framers as a measure for the protection of monopoly. That it is so regarded by its framers is evidenced by the persistent and strenuous opposition of the Republicans to all amendments looking to a reduction of duties on trust products, culminating in the defeat of Senator Pettigrew's anti-trust amendment purposing to deprive all trusts of the protection of tariff duties by authorizing the courts to suspend all tariff duties, or so much thereof as should be imposed for protective ends, on articles falling under the control of trusts or combines organized to restrain competition and exact undue prices for their products.

The protective system is conceived for the benefit of the consumer no less than the producer. The tariff that is not aimed to protect the consumer is not truly protective. It has been held by protectionists that to foster the development of our great resources, encourage the diversification of industries, thus bring producer and consumer close together and minimize the charges of distribution, freights and commissions, would conserve the interests of our whole people. It has been urged that not only would such diversification of industries, such minimizing of waste in the distribution of the products of labor, enable producers to command more remunerative prices for their products, but enable them to secure, as consumers, their purchases at less expense. It has been further urged that the building up of home competition, the freeing of our people from dependence on foreign manufacturers, would lead to a reduction, not enhancement of prices, not indeed to a reduction below the prices made by foreigners in the face of such competition, but below the prices that were asked and obtained, and would still be asked by foreign manufacturers, if possessed of a monopoly of our markets. So the doctrine of protection has been defended, defended as protecting the consumer no less than the producer, defended as reducing not enhancing the cost of manufactured products to the consumer.

When, therefore, we have domestic trusts and combines sheltered by tariff duties, and formed to restrain competition, arbitrarily keep up prices and exact a tribute from consumers, the very ends of protection are defeated. The true protective tariff would withdraw all protection from such trusts and combines, and when the Republicans voted down an amendment to this effect they simply stamped their tariff as a measure for the protection of monopoly not of the public.

In voting down Senator Pettigrew's anti-trust amendment, the Republicans stamped their tariff as a tariff for monopoly. It is only regrettable that the issue was not made sharper. As it was, the Republicans were enabled to put their opposition to the amendment on mere quibbles. No room should have been left for the raising of such quibbles as they raised, and they should have been forced to avow that they believed in extending protection to trusts for the trusts' sake. While Senator Pettigrew's amendment was pending we foresaw possible objections, objections that were afterwards raised, and urged the modification of such amendment so as to take away the ground for such objections. We urged that the rule for the determination of a trust should be made sharp and easily determinable, that the definition of a trust should not be so broad as to be indefinite, that the control of a certain percentage of production should be considered and alone considered as evidence of the existence of a trust within the meaning of the law, that where one-half or more of any product should be controlled by a trust or combine, corporate or other, a trust should be considered to be existent in the eyes of the law, far-reaching enough to warrant the suspension of tariff duties. It is true that to place the determination of the existence of a combination or trust sufficiently far-reaching to be injurious, upon a basis of the control of 50 per cent. of the production, would be purely arbitrary. But some limit must be set, and whatever limit is fixed must be arbitrary. And putting the limit at 50 per cent. we sought to fix the determination of a trust at a limit that would work no injustice to independent producers.

We fixed upon this limit convinced that when a trust controls the production of one-half of a product it practically controls the markets and fixes the price for the whole product through its power to exact agreements from merchants for the handling of the goods not only of the trust but of independent producers. Thus before the Sugar Trust, for instance, will fill the orders of a wholesaler, such wholesale merchant must agree not to sell the sugars of the independent refineries to the retail grocers at a lower price than fixed by the Trust. Consequently competition on the part of the independent sugar refineries, independent in name but not in fact, through a cutting of prices is virtually interdicted. Then, too, the Sugar Trust, as all other trusts with great capital at command, holds independent producers in awe, and under the threat of squeezing them out of existence, forces them to agree to the trust price lists. So where a trust controls a major part of production there is no underselling, no effective competition even though there be nominally independent producers.

Taking into consideration the foregoing, we suggested the following as the pith of an anti-trust amendment: "That on submission of proof to a district court of the United States that one half or more of the domestic production of any article on the importation of which a tariff duty is levied, is controlled or in any way regulated by a trust or combination of any kind, corporate or other, the said court shall issue an order directing the customs officers of the United States to permit the importation of such article or articles free of duty, save in such instances where part of the duty levied on the finished article is in the nature of a compensatory duty for a duty placed on the raw products imported and used in production when so much of the duty as is over and above the compensatory rate shall be suspended."

If the issue had been made on an amendment of this nature there would have been no ground for the objections raised to Senator Pettigrew's amendment. That such an amendment would have suffered a different fate than the one pressed by Senator Pettigrew, we do not for an instant believe, for the Republicans are bent on having a monopoly tariff, but such an amendment would have forced them to put themselves in a more unmistakable light as the defenders of trusts. Senator Petti-

grew's amendment from its very breadth in defining a trust became indefinite. And this was seized upon by the opponents of the amendment and made the ground from which to find fault and rear objections. Thus Senator Hoar argued that the adoption of the Pettigrew amendment would put it in the power of any three or more men to form a combination in restraint of trade for the purpose of forcing an article or articles handled by them onto the free list. Such objection was puerile for it is folly to suppose that any court would hold a conspiracy entered into to secure an abatement of duties, a conspiracy entered into to defraud the Government, to partake of the nature of a trust or combine for the restraint of trade, within the meaning of the amendment. Yet ground was made upon which to rest this objection by the comprehensiveness of the definition of a trust given in Senator Pettigrew's amendment, a definition indefinite from its very comprehensiveness. From this same ground Senator Hoar further argued that the adoption of the amendment would be destructive of revenue, that it would enable importers to get around the payment of customs duties by trumping up the existence of a combination in restraint of trade and thus secure a court decree suspending duties. And so he argued would the protective features of the bill be broken down. Senator Pettus, of Alabama, was carried away into the same strain of argument, though finally voting for the amendment, and Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, followed him up by registering his objection to the amendment on the ground "that it would place an entire industry outside of any trust, subject to penalty because some small trust was formed in that line."

Such objections were, we repeat, in the nature, largely, of mere quibbles, for no court would consider a mere conspiracy of importers, trumped up for the special purpose of bringing about a temporary suspension of a tariff duty, as a combination in restraint of trade within the meaning of the act. But if the amendment had been put in the form we urged, such objections could not have been so much as pressed. No foundation could have been found for them. It could not have been urged that three or more importers could form a combination to secure a release from the payment of customs on some article or articles, for a combination controlling one-half or more of the production of any article would have to be more than a myth. It would have to be a reality. And so it would have been impossible to oppose the amendment as calculated to lead to incalculable loss of revenue, the destruction of the bill as a revenue measure, for the products controlled to the extent of one-half or more by trusts are not largely imported, save as raw materials, the duty on which would not be disturbed. And as they are not largely imported and not much revenue now collected therefrom, the loss of revenue could not be great. Finally the objection that the existence of a small combination would penalize an entire independent industry, depriving it unjustly of protection, would be baseless for only those combines and trusts large enough and far-reaching enough as to practically control the whole market and do grievous injury by restraining competition, would be affected by such amendment. So we see that of all the objections raised to the form of amendment pressed by Senator Pettigrew, none could have been raised under the form we suggested.

We wish the test could be made again on the form of amendment we urge. It would place the Republicans distinctly on record as the champions of monopoly.

An eminent French scientist, M. Demoline, has written a book, "Reasons for the Superiority of the Anglo-Saxon Race." Of it Jules Lemaitre, the Academician, says, "in his essay, which is as convincing as it is distressing, we are placed face to face with our own weakness and inferiority as compared with the immense social, political, commercial, industrial, financial and moral superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. For it is not the acknowledged superiority of our cooks and our playwrights which will ever save us, and it is probable that our superiority in all artistic matters is nothing more than a mere useless luxury."

A Correction.

In our editorial of last week "A Few Facts About Our Currency," we spoke of subsidiary silver coin as legal tender up to \$5. This was an error. Subsidiary silver is legal tender for amounts not exceeding \$10.

WOMAN'S WAYS.

THERE is much that makes me sorry as I journey down life's way,
And I seem to see more pathos in poor human lives each day.
I am sorry for the strong, brave men who shield the weak from harm,
But who, in their own troubled hours, find no protecting arm.

I am sorry for the victors who have reached success to stand
As targets for the arrows shot by envious failure's hand.
I am sorry for the generous hearts who freely shared their wine,
But drink alone the gall of tears in fortune's drear decline.

I am sorry for the souls who build their own frames' funeral pyre,
Derided by the scornful throng, like ice deriding fire.
I am sorry for the conquering ones who know not sin's defeat,
But daily tread down fierce desire 'neath scorched and bleeding feet.

I am sorry for the anguished hearts that break with passion's strains,
But I am sorer for the poor, starved souls that never knew love's pains,
Who hunger on through barren years not tasting joys they crave,
For sadder far is such a lot than weeping o'er a grave.

I am sorry for the souls that come unwelcomed into birth;
I am sorry for the unloved old who cumber up the earth;
I am sorry for the suffering poor in life's maelstrom hurled;
In truth, I am sorry for them all who make this aching world.

But underneath whatever seems sad and is not understood,
I know there lies hid from our sight a mighty germ of good.
And this belief stands firm by me, my sermon, motto, text—
The sorriest things in this life will seem grandest in the next.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

The London *Spectator* gives an account of experiments made to determine the sensibility of animals to music. In each experiment the violin would first be played, at first low and soft, then louder and louder. The sharp, high-toned piccolo would then follow and then the flute. The effect was often startling. The tiger, for example, listened intently and with evident pleasure to the violin, but when the piccolo began was filled with the wildest rage, rushed up and down the cage, reared on its hind legs, shook its head and ears, and lashed its tail from side to side. The flute, however, calmed it at once, and coming to the bars of the cage, it listened intently. The monkeys were affected in the same way, but were not so violent in expressing their emotions. Violin music was often so agreeable to them that they would drop their food and listen very attentively, while the piccolo almost invariably aroused their anger. The elephant preferred the flute and was enraged at the piccolo, as was also the ostrich. The wild asses and zebras left their food when the violin began to play, and ran over to hear it. The piccolo, however, soon sent them back again.

The story is told of a woman who freely used her tongue to the scandal of others, and made confession to the priest of what she had done. He gave her a ripe thistle top and told her to go out in various directions and scatter the seeds one by one. Wondering at the penance, she obeyed, and then returned and told her confessor. To her amazement he bade her go back and gather the scattered seeds, and when she objected that it would be impossible, he replied that it would be still more difficult to gather up and destroy all evil reports which she had circulated about others. Any thoughtless, careless child can scatter a handful of thistle seeds before the wind in a moment, but the strongest and wisest man can never gather them again.

A sweet little girl of four years was asked what she was going to be when she grew up. She answered, looking admiringly toward her own mamma, "Just a mother."

Half unconsciously the little maid expressed a whole volume in those few words. And yet how few women realize what they are taking upon themselves when they undertake to become a wife and mother.

No one has a right to do this without special preparation and knowledge. A sincere and careful study of the duties and responsibilities one is about to assume should precede the assumption of these relationships.

It is due to the man one is to marry, it is due to the child

that may be born, that the wife and the mother should avail herself of every legitimate source of wisdom and of strength.

Some one inquired of the late Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "When should the culture of the child begin?"

The great scientist and philosopher answered, "A hundred years before it is born."

Unfortunately for our offspring, we cannot turn back the wheels of time to that extent, but we can ourselves begin so that the right story may be told a hundred years hence.

It is a perpetual marvel that women without any special preparation for their profession have done so well, but how much better might they have done if they only had known more to begin with.

As it is, they learn the art of housekeeping at the husband's expense, often at the expense of both his pocket and his stomach—sometimes, too, of her own.

No woman who aspires to the dignity of wifehood has a right to be ignorant of the practical duties of a well-ordered household. She has no right to shun her kitchen or be unlearned in the chemistry of cooking. How can she direct possibly careless and ill-trained servants in a science of which she herself knows nothing?

The wonderful popularity of the bicycle for the use of women as well as for men, calls attention to the physical powers of the (supposedly) weaker sex. In this connection, who can forget the humorous picture drawn by Burdette, the humorist, which is good enough, and has pertinence enough to be reproduced in its entirety: True, she cannot sharpen a pencil, and, outside of commercial circles, she cannot tie a package to make it look like anything save a crooked cross section of chaos; but land of miracle! see what she can do with a pin! I believe there are some women who can pin a glass knob to a door. She cannot walk so many miles around a billiard table with nothing to eat and nothing (to speak of) to drink, but she can walk the floor all night with a fretful baby without going sound asleep the first half hour. She can ride five hundred miles without going into the smoking car to rest (and get away from the children). She can go to town and do a wearisome day's shopping and have a good time with three or four friends without drinking a keg of beer. She can enjoy an evening visit without smoking a half dozen cigars. She can endure the torturing distraction of a house full of children all day, while her husband cuffs them all howling to bed before he has been home an hour. Every day she endures a dress that would make an athlete swoon. She will not, and possibly cannot walk five hundred miles around a tanbark track, in six days, for five thousand dollars, but she can walk two hundred miles in ten hours, up and down the crowded aisles of a dry goods store, when there is a reduction sale on. She hath no skill at fence, and knoweth not how to spar, but when she javelins a man in the ribs, in a Christmas crowd, that man's whole family howls. She is afraid of a mouse and runs from a cow, but a book agent can't scare her. She is the salt of the church, the pepper of the choir, the life of the sewing society and about all there is of a young ladies' school, or a nunnery.

A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

"I'M tired of 'don'ts,'" said Margaret B.,
"Just as tired of 'don'ts' as I can be.
For it's 'don't' do this, and 'don't' do that,
'Don't' worry the dog, 'don't' scare the cat,
'Don't' be untidy, and 'don't' be vain.
'Don't' interrupt, 'don't' do it again.
'Don't' bite your nails, 'don't' gobble your food.
'Don't' speak so loud, it's dreadfully rude,
'Don't' mumble your words, 'don't' say 'I won't,'
Oh! all day long it's nothing but 'don't!'
Some time or other I hope—'don't' you?—
Some one or other will say, 'please do!'"

There is nothing gained in the government of children by threatening that which is not performed.

Grown people have an absurd idea of the methods of playing with little children. They seem to think that all children enjoy being "poked" and "pinched" and "chucked under the chin."

"Don't kiss the baby!" If every mother would attach that sign to the perambulator, there would be less occasion to ques-

tion where baby caught this or that disease. The mucous membrane of infants is so delicately susceptible to poison and disease, that what would make no impression on a more hardened surface is often fatal to a baby's life.

**

What makes our babies attractive? What makes them laugh? They must be perfect in body and mind. They must be well and strong and in harmony with their environment. They must have a good inheritance. Then they will laugh and be contented and happy. If, however, they possess health and are well in body and mind, and yet are out of harmony with the surroundings, they will grow up to be sour, morose and uncomfortable. Study baby in his surroundings to see that all is harmonious. Then only can we hope for good results when our baby is grown to manhood or womanhood.

**

If a child is constitutionally nervous it is no use to think that it can be made different by force. Argument, too, in many cases, only intensifies the terrors which children often feel if left alone in the dark, and gives definite expression to fears which are purely imaginary. Many people argue that a child who is afraid to be left alone or to go into a dark room ought to be made to do each of these things in order to find out that no harm will come to him. Now, children are seldom really afraid unless they have been made so, and it is a curious fact that the most timid child shrinks from disclosing his fears to any one. In such a case some one has certainly warned him that worse things will happen if he dares to disclose the reason of his alarm. Very often it is the simplest thing which has been made to appear so terrible under certain conditions.

**

Children are apt to seek the society of other children at about the sixth year of their ages. This should be a watchful period for the parents, as friendships contracted at this time have a very decided influence on the mind, morals and manners of their children. Nearly every child is influenced for good or evil through early associations. If allowed to be constantly with the nurse, their language and manners will, in nearly every case, be identical with those of the nurse. A mother should spend the greater portion of every day in the society of her children. If to rid herself of their noise she permits them to seek companions outside, she has no one to blame but herself if their manners and morals are corrupted. All children require companionship of those of their own age, but it is very essential that the parents should choose these companions.

WORDS OF WISDOM.

THE soul of man
Resembleth water!
From heaven it cometh
To heaven it soareth,
And then again
To earth descendeth,
Changing ever.

Down from the lofty,
Rocky wall
Streams the bright flood;
Then spreadeth gently
In cloudy bill ws
O'er the smooth rock,
And, welcom'd kindly,
Veiling, on roams it,
Soft murmuring,
Tow'rd the abyss.

Cliffs projecting
Oppose its progress;
Angrily foams it
Down to the bottom,
Step by step.

Now, in flat channel,
Through the meadow-land steals it,
And in the polished lake
Each constellation
Joyously peepeth.

Wind is the loving
Woof of waters;
Wind blends together
Billows all-foaming.

Spirit of man,
Thou art like unto water!
Fortune of man,
Thou art like unto wind!—Goethe, 1789.

* It is a blessing to have opinions; it is a curse to be opinionated.

**

A hypocrite feels better satisfied with himself every time he sees a good man backslide.

**

Neither rich furniture, nor abundance of gold, nor a descent from an illustrious family, nor greatness of authority, nor eloquence and all the charms of speaking, can produce so great a serenity of life as a mind free from guilt, kept untainted, not only from actions, but purposes that are wicked.—*Plutarch*.

**

The shortest way to do many things is to only do one thing at once.

**

There was a Spaniard who always put on his spectacles when about to eat cherries, that they might look bigger and more tempting. In like manner I make the most of my enjoyments, and though I do not cast my eyes away from my troubles, I pack them in as little compass as I can for myself, and never let them annoy others.—*Southey*.

**

The true University of these days is a collection of books.—*Carlyle*.

**

If we try to please everybody we shall have the respect of nobody.

**

Scolding and nagging never mended anything. They have ruined the peace of unnumbered families. To be absolutely despicable, one has only to descend to tears and moans.

**

We give advice, but we cannot give the wisdom to profit by it.—*La Rochefoucauld*.

**

It is the height of folly to throw up attempting because you have failed. Failures are wonderful elements in developing the character.

**

Senator Chandler says that in these three sentences is bound up pretty nearly all the philosophy a man needs in life.

"Fulfill existing promises before making new promises."

"Pay your own debts before borrowing money to lend to others to enable them to pay their debts."

"Bear your own burdens first; after that try to help carry those of other people."

**

A collection of Irish bulls was published recently. Here are some of them: A certain politician, lately condemning the government for its recent policy concerning the income tax, is reported to have said: "They'll keep cutting the wool off the sheep that lays the golden eggs until they pump it dry." "The glorious work will never be accomplished until the good ship Temperance shall sail from one end of the land to the other, and with a cry of 'Victory!' at each step she takes shall plant her banner in every city, town and village in the United Kingdom." An Irishman, in the midst of a tirade against landlords and capitalists, declared that "if these men were landed on an uninhabited island they wouldn't be there half an hour before they would have their hands in the pockets of the naked savages." Only a few weeks ago a lecturer at a big meeting gave utterance to the following: "All along the untrodden paths of the future we can see the footprints of an unseen hand." An orator at one of the university unions bore off the palm of merit when he declared that "the British lion, whether it is roaming the deserts of India or climbing the forests of Canada, will not draw in its horns or retire into its shell."

Observation Sleeping Cars on B. & O.

Commencing Sunday, June 13, the B. & O. R. R. will place in service, between Baltimore and Chicago, *Pullman Observation Sleeping Cars*. The cars have a saloon parlor in the rear, furnished with easy arm chairs, upholstered revolving chairs and sofas. This will enable passengers to view with better advantage the scenic wonders that have made the B. & O. famous.—*Adv.*

BOOK REVIEWS.

GENERAL GRANT. By James Grant Wilson. With portrait, maps and illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

This volume makes its timely appearance as the deeds of its hero are revived in public recollection by the substantial completion of his monumental tomb. It forms the twelfth volume of the Great Commanders Series. When the biography now being written by John Russell Young is finished, there will be little left for future chroniclers to say, and the public will put its *imprimatur* upon the "Life" which posterity must accept as the standard. There will, nevertheless, always be a place and a mission for so good and modest a book as this by Gen. Wilson, who fought with Grant, and was privileged with his friendship for quarter of a century. If for no other reason than that this biography is written by a soldier, it will have special interest and value. A soldier's account of a soldier's rise and progress is bound to be good reading. He can extract the root meaning from the jargon of military technical reports, and place the average reader in possession of graphic facts hard to understand from official descriptions. This is what Gen. Wilson does, with a simplicity of style which is worthy of all praise. This style suits Grant's record admirably, for his military acts were as clear-cut and direct in sequence as could be. Incidentally we are told that "in twenty days (of the Vicksburg campaign) Grant had marched 200 miles through an enemy's country, had beaten two armies in five battles, captured nearly 100 cannons and killed, or made prisoners, nearly 12,000 of Johnston's and Pemberton's troops." The least learned in the glorious but miserable art of war can appreciate all that lies behind this innocent-looking bit of clever condensation.

Many will value this book as a handy short history of Grant's battles, but the higher interest pertains to its unfolding of the character of the man called upon to take up his momentous task. Grant is better understood to-day than during his life, notwithstanding the honors lavished upon him. It is one of the mysteries of destiny that the laurel of the victor is placed on the brow of one fortunate survivor, a curious way of awarding proper fame to those who perished in winning his glory. Let it be accounted one of Grant's noblest traits that such concentration of honors upon him was not coveted by him, rather was it distasteful. This rare modesty was genuine. He got all the available heroism out of his men, but never grudged them whatever reward of popularity they gained. This trait of his might be advantageously copied by our grand army of pensioners. They ask too much when they demand that Memorial Day shall be shorn of its harmless holiday features, that an insufficiently grateful nation may wait the day away chanting dismal dirges among the tombs. Grant was not this kind of person. He was a man, and had the soldier spirit.

The late Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, enjoyed Grant's heart friendship through life. He owed his appointments, first as Secretary of State and then as Minister to France, to Grant. During the war Grant made a confidant of him in a long series of remarkably characteristic letters, penned in every mood from blue to golden. A number of these are given for the first time in this book. They portray the real man more faithfully—because unconsciously, in so far as that they were written while his fame was in the making—than can be done by any outsider. One of these letters, though a rather long one, is well worth citing here. No nobler spirit ever showed itself in similar circumstances than animates this fine letter.

"CAMP NEAR CORINTH, MISS., May 14, 1862.

"The great number of attacks made upon me by the press of the country is my apology for not writing to you oftener, not desiring to give any contradiction to them myself. You have interested yourself so much as my friend, that should I say anything it would probably be made use of in my behalf. I would scorn being my own defender against such attacks, except through the record which has been kept of all my official acts, and which can be examined at Washington at any time. To say that I have not been distressed at these attacks on me would be false, for I have a father, mother, wife and children who read them, and are distressed by them, and I necessarily share with them in it. Then, too, as I subject to my orders read these charges, and it is calculated to weaken their confidence in me, and weaken my ability to render efficient service in our present cause. One thing I will assure you of, however, I cannot be driven from rendering the best service within my ability to suppress the present rebellion, and, when it is over, retiring to the same quiet life, the rebellion found me enjoying. Notoriety has no charms for me, and I could render the same services that I hope it has been my fortune to render our just cause without being known in the matter, it would be infinitely preferable to me.

"Those people who expect a field of battle to be maintained for a whole day with about thirty thousand troops, most of them entirely raw, against fifty thousand, as was the case at Pittsburg Landing while waiting for reinforcements to come up, without loss of life, know little of war. To have left the field of Pittsburg for the enemy to occupy until our force was sufficient to have gained a bloodless victory would have been to leave the Tennessee to become a second Potomac. There was nothing left for me but to occupy the west bank of the Tennessee and to hold it at all hazards. It would have set this war back six months to have failed, and would have caused the necessity of raising, as it were, a new army.

"Looking back at the past, I cannot see for the life of me any important point that could be corrected. Many persons who have visited the different fields of battle may have gone away displeased because they were not permitted to carry off horses, fine arms or other valuables as trophies. But they are no patriots who would base their enmity on such grounds. Such, I assure you, are the grounds of many bitter words that have been said against me by persons who at this day would not know me by sight, yet profess to speak from a personal acquaintance.

"I am sorry to write such a letter, infinitely sorry that there should be grounds for it. My own justification does not demand it, but you are entitled to know my feelings. As a friend I would be pleased to give you a record weekly at furthest of all that transpires in that portion of the army that I am or may be connected with, but not to make public use of."

The maps and interesting fac-similes of Grant's letters add greatly to the charm of the book. It is not without a few misprints, as Grays, for the Scotch Greys. In no ungracious spirit exception may be taken to the somewhat newspaper tone of some passages glorifying the hero. It savors of brag to compare him with one who won a hundred fights and never lost one, and to make Grant as great a statesman as Washington, or Wellington. And who can either prove or disprove that Grant "had, perhaps, the most valuable horse ever used in battle?" This would have jarred on his sensibility. With these exceptions the book is admirable.

LIFE AND IMMORTALITY; OR, Soul in Plants and Animals. By Thomas G. Gentry, Sc.D. Philadelphia: Burk & McFetridge Co. \$2.50.

There is nothing upon which men are more sensitive than upon their religious beliefs; nothing arouses them to a greater extent than any questioning of those beliefs, and no subject comes within the scope of human thought upon which there is a more uncompromising and defiant spirit shown. Men's individual beliefs are so various and diverse, even where they agree on certain cardinal points, that it is impossible for one mind to reach all, for to do so one must overcome preconceived prejudices and appeal to reason and the psychical nature without arousing the passions. Such being the case, the task before any one who endeavors to explain and throw new light on the laws of God in their relation to religion, and as bearing on what it teaches, is a most difficult one. And in treating a book devoted to such questions, it seems, considering all things, that the duty of the reviewer consists not in criticism, which must similarly fail to meet the views of all readers, but in giving as comprehensively as possible, in the limited space at his disposal, a fair idea of the scope of the book and of the beliefs of the writer as there unfolded, and with this stop, leaving each reader to draw his own conclusions and make his own criticisms. This is what we shall do with the present book, and those who care to go deeper and obtain a full understanding of what the author holds must turn to his book.

"Ere man can understand the spiritual, he must understand the natural," for the "natural world, so to speak, is the raw material of the spiritual." In this we can forecast the author's plan which is gradually developed, beginning with a brief dissertation on biology in which is made evident the gradual merging of animal and vegetable life in the lowest forms until a point is reached where it is impossible to say this is *animal*, this *vegetable*. From this we are taken upward in the scale of life, examples being selected, chiefly from the animal kingdom, in which the great principle of life is most easily comprehended and followed, to demonstrate the progressive stages in the development of life and spirit. In the chapters so devoted the physical characters and peculiarities of life of the various creatures are described, particular emphasis being put upon exhibitions of intelligence and reason in order to bring out prominently those facts which go to substantiate and prove the theory of life and immortality which the author holds. These chapters of natural history contain a great deal of interest and instruction, and tempt us to notice many things, but from this we must refrain, as one thing would lead to another, and carry us beyond all proper bounds before we came to a consideration of the real work. Therefore we pass them by without further mention, other than to suggest that this part of the book is in some respects needlessly full and detailed, especially in physical descriptions, considering the ultimate object in view.

Now to come to the prime purpose of the book and the theory which it propounds and supports. In the first place Mr. Gentry believes in evolution, that it is the universal law by which an omnipotent God works out His purpose. He expresses the conviction that all life, whether plant or animal, is possessed of "one breath, or life, and one spirit," and that in this all are "living souls, living, breathing frames or bodies of life." As such all are "endowed with the same life and spirit as man," and all have one destiny. He reasons that it is not compatible with a belief in a God of Love, which Christianity teaches, to think that any living thing, to all of which God has imparted His spirit, should perish, but that life so given is immortal like its giver and cannot be lost. The same life-breath pervades all forms, is the one vitalizing principal of their existence. For confirmation of this belief he turns to Scriptures and draws upon them to uphold it as the true belief.

"Man, the pinnacle of animal life, has come up through the life that preceded him." His preëminence is due to Revelation, "the new life which Christ ('much the greatest man who has ever lived') came down to earth to proffer to man that he might inherit the kingdom of God." Christianity, an evolution of religious feeling from superstition, through fetishism, polytheism, monotheism and directly from Judaism, is then a further development of the great law of omniscience, and through its influence a higher state shall be brought about. "Christianity . . . has throughout been a religion of sacrifice and sorrow. . . . It is *par excellence* the religion of sorrow, because it reaches to truer and deeper levels of our spiritual nature, and therefore has capabilities both of sorrow and joy which are presumably non-existent except in civilized man. They are the sorrows and joys which arise from the fully developed consciousness of sin against a God of Love, as distinguished from propitiation of malignant spirits. These joys and sorrows are wholly spiritual, not merely physical. . . . God's only sacrifice at the hands of sinful man is a troubled spirit." Our author feels that "had it not been for this religion, man's spiritual side would not have been developed." But Revelation is not within the confines of reason, indeed it is above man as above animals and plants. "It would be against reason itself to suppose that Deity . . . can be known to reason. He must be known, if knowable at all, by intuition." Revelation did not come to the early man, who was evolved, physically and mentally, through the action of natural laws, out of life that existed previously to his advent. "In time, as conditions became favorable, he passed into the moral stage of his being, but not without increased intellectuality, and would thus have continued, but going on and adding to his mental and moral possessions, had not Deity, in the fitness of time, prepared the way through Christ, whereby his corruptible nature should be made incorruptible and immortal." Therefore man was not created out of hand, but evolved through the working of the same law of creation by which each form of life has been gradually produced by evolution out of something else. Christ was a fulfillment of that law, and the medium on earth to further extend it for man. This process still works on toward the goal and "man will carry his earth-acquired knowledge into the other world, and little by little will he add to his fund. Those who have made the best of their time in their probationary existence will rank as much above their fellows in the heaven-life as they did in the earth-life, and, like the others, will reach up to higher acquirements."

Now let us see what future life Mr. Gentry has for animals and plants, and how they are to attain it. We have seen Revelation was given to man alone. But with its glory came also a responsibility, not only to God and himself, but to the rest of creation. Man was given control on earth; he became "the instrument through which God has worked in building up a history and a character for the humbler works of His hands." So shall all life be raised up through man, and so also shall animals and plants "pass into the future life with him." To further explain Mr. Gentry's belief on this point let us again use his own words: "In announcing the belief that the lower animals share immortality with man in the higher world, as they share mortality in this, does not claim for them the slightest equality. Man will be man, and beast will be beast, and insect will be insects, in the next world as they are in this."

Enjoy Your 4th July on B. & O.

The B. & O. R. R. will sell excursion tickets, between all points east of the Ohio River, for all trains July 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th, valid for return passage until July 6th, at GREATLY REDUCED RATES.—*Adv.*

BRIEFER NOTICES.

OUR COMMON BIRDS AND HOW TO KNOW THEM. By John B. Grant. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Another book for the beginner, who, if he shall avail of half the assistance freely proffered him from every side in the shape of almost innumerable volumes, well-meant and commendable efforts as they often are, will, we fear, find himself more confused and discouraged than if he began his observations and study as he was best able, and looked for the necessary help to one of those more pretentious works which are assumed to be beyond his understanding and comprehension. After all, there is only one road to knowledge, and that is not necessarily the longest and roughest which may at first seem beset with the most obstacles. The present volume seeks to point out the best ways to reach desired ends, and to focus the attention on those things which it is important to see when studying living birds. Some ninety "varieties" of birds found in the Eastern States are mentioned briefly. The book is fully illustrated with sixty-four photographic portraits of stuffed birds, but we can find no special excellence in these figures. The smaller half of them convey a good idea of the live birds which they represent; of the others about a dozen portray delapidated specimens which an expert could scarcely recognize, let alone a beginner, and for the rest not much can be said without injustice to the birds themselves. Be this as it may, Mr. Grant has doubtless found much pleasure in preparing his little book, and that it is now in the sixth edition is evidence that he has at least succeeded in filling a popular demand.

THE DESCENDANT. A Novel. New York: Harper & Bros.

The history of a book is sometimes more interesting than the story it has to tell. This one enjoys the double advantage. The story is what is classed as a strong one. It would appear to have been written by some man who had made a study of the "advanced" people in our great cities who preach and practice anarchistic and free-love doctrines. An extreme radical in everything, the hero of the story assails society in a screaming paper which society never sees, and induces a romantic young lady from Virginia to share his Bohemian life. At last he tires of her devotion and finds himself under the spell of a quiet and good sort of woman, unromantic and domesticated, whose influence changes the animal man into a respectable fellow, when, of course, he discards the silly girl who mistook gush on both sides for love. So much for the book's nasty story. Now for the story of the book. It was brought out a few months ago with a brilliant flourish of muted trumpets; in other words, an impressive affectation of anonymity was worked up, with much stage whispering about the extraordinary genius possessed by the unknown author. The reviewers were mysteriously moved to cry aloud with one voice, "Who can this Great Unknown be?" Whenever this phenomenon is observed, be sure each and every anxious inquirer is only working up popular excitement, which to-morrow he will allay with a full biography of the modest author whose temporary anonymity was only a little ruse of trade. So it comes out, rather too soon, seeing that the yeast has scarcely been allowed time enough to puff the dough into full ballooning, that the great anonymous man of large experience in the wickedness of the world is a young lady of Virginia; her name Ellen Glasgow, which is now blazoned in the later advertisements of the book. The neat little secret has been most ingeniously worked, and we hope the device will pay everyone concerned. On the assumption that society is by this time going crazy over the unearthing of a real native genius, not particularly original, but pretty cute, a well-known American authoress, Mrs. Christine Terhune Herrick, writes an article in a literary paper on Miss Glasgow. This young lady, we are told, is delicate, and has lived a secluded life, now, of course, to be exchanged for the fierce light of publicity. She, like a few other precocious children we have read about, was and is "an omnivorous reader." When she was only thirteen "she had learned to love Robert Browning," a very pretty thing for a nice child to do, much better than allowing Swinburne to "hold a close second place in her heart." The comforting thought for her wise friends to cherish under this serious catastrophe is that she will have to live to one hundred and thirty at least before her head will understand the writings of these twin squatters in the domain of her heart. What other receptacle can the girl have in which to store away "the works of Draper, Buckle, Lecky, Gibbon, Romanes, Weissman, and many others, and the strong influence of John Stuart

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Mill?" Even, then, there is a corner cupboard left for her beloved fictionists, of whom Thomas Hardy is the "first of all novelists living or dead," and his cranky "Jude the Obscure" her favorite book. We need not puzzle over trifles like these. What we have to understand by this whispered secret is that Miss Glasgow has a ponderous intellect, far vaster than that of common novelists. Nay, does she not decorate her novel with mottoes to each of its "books," culled from Haeckel, Schopenhauer, Schiller, Ibsen, and the ancients? When did George Eliot equal this? But what think ye of this—Ellen "had begun to scribble verses by the time she could read words of two syllables"! And what of this, "While a mere girl she wrote a novel"! And still she remains human, "even the birds of the air are her pets, and their clamor at her window often sends her flying from her desk to the pantry to secure the supply of crumbs they have learned to expect from her hands."

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A unique excursion will be given July 9th by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. It will be arranged for Amateur Photographers, and trips will be made to the Blue Ridge and Alleghany mountains in Western Maryland and West Virginia. A special car will be fitted up for the use of the snap shooters, and put on the end of the train so that views may be taken en route. Stops will be made at Harper's Ferry, Hancock and Cumberland. The B. & O. Photographer will have charge of the trip. His car, which is fitted up with a dark room and other accessories for developing negatives and making prints, will be taken along.

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

A curiosity of literary journalism is found in the current monthly issued by the Philadelphia establishment of Mr. Wanamaker. Its main business is to introduce new books to purchasers and advise them upon their merits. Of one book this is said, "The largeness and wholesomeness of the book would make it acceptable; its author has, however, vivacity, directness, and she marshals her characters and presents her incidents skilfully." In Mr. Wanamaker's New York establishment this very book is suppressed on the ground of immorality. This is high testimony to the moral strength of Philadelphians, who can safely be trusted with books which would demoralize the weaker Gothamites.

Literary coincidences are sometimes very striking, but rarely so remarkable as the sequence of letters recently received by a commercial man from Michigan. Calling for his mail at Covington he got three letters, the first reported the death of his grandmother, the second told of the burning of his home, and the third announced the death of his child. This reads like a few verses from the book of Job. The trouble with most literary coincidences is to make sure whether they are only resemblances or "piracies." It is astonishing how wholesale and barefaced plagiarism flourishes in the bookmaking industry.

The subscription book is a mystery. We hear the trade bawling the badness of the times, people look into books but fail to buy them, and the bicycle is being blamed for it. Second-hand book stores have dropped prices from fifty to thirty cents, and the twenty-five cent shelf has long gone down to ten, yet the sales drag. Turn now to the silent work of the subscription book houses. They keep on getting up gorgeous quartos full of costly pictures, described in ornate type on luxurious paper, and their indefatigable agents keep on finding customers content to buy these showy books at prices running from thirty or forty dollars up into the hundreds for a single set. Works of this kind sell as a variety of esthetic furniture as well as for their

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pictorial or literary value, and the genius of publisher and salesman completely overtops the talent of the industrious authors and artists.

The office of poet laureate of England is likely to die with the present reign. The holder of it could not more happily play the courtier—which is his chief function after all—than by performing hari-kari as a picturesque wind-up of the royal celebration. In a Pickwickian sense, of course. It would be the most popular feature of the show with the reading public, who would jubilate in jingly choruses worthy of the writer of the Jubilee Ode himself.

Why summer reading? To a healthy brain there can scarcely be harder drudgery than having to pull through a hundred pages of pie-bald verbiage, echoing the emptiest chatter of shallowpated idlers, for this seems to be the gauzy material of which summer fiction is woven. Our minds get wilted quite enough by sunshine without the aid of literary moonshine. When in this weary state what we need is a bracing mental tonic, not a laxative or an opiate. Then is our chance to enjoy a bit of stiff controversial reading, or to revel in the flower-spangled meadowland of the old lyrics and idylls, or cool our souls by following Nansen to the North Pole, or wandering over the Alpine glaciers.

Thomas Hardy is as able a writer of fiction as any now living, and if he had simply stuck to his natural line there would not now be any division in the camp of his admirers. He succumbed to the temptation of the sex problem craze, a silly weakness in one who was a master in the art of writing wholesome stories. No possible good can be done by studies in morbid anatomy, even by so able a dissector as ex-Dr. Hardy. He is now said to have discarded this class of subject and for the future will follow the line of his earlier and cleaner stories.

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A reader of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, written three centuries ago, quotes this stanza as of peculiar interest just now. It is the fifth verse of Book I., Fairfax's translation:

"For if the Christian princes ever strive
To win fair Greece out of the tyrant's hands,
And those usurping Ishmaelites deprive
Of woful Thrace, which now captived stands,
You must from realms and seas the Turks forth drive,
As Godfrey chased them from Judah's lands.
And in this legend, all that glorious deed
Read, whilst you arm you; arm you, whilst you read."


An Old Road Made New.

And now another joke is taken away from the already heavily afflicted paragrapher and specialty artist. No more can either ring the changes on that time-honored old minstrel joke about the man who wanted to go to Chicago "the worst way," and was directed to the B. & O. station, for the work of straightening the curves, which were at once the delight and the horror of all through passengers on the "picturesque B. & O." is about concluded, and the trip through the mountains no longer reminds one of crossing the English channel on a particularly rough day.

This will be welcome news to the general public and to B. & O. enthusiasts—people who would not take any other route to their destinations if the B. & O. would possibly serve them. These are mostly passionate admirers of natural scenery, to whom the gigantic panorama along the B. & O. route can never become stale. Indeed, why should it, when it is never twice the same? Scenery on a scale of such immensity is like the ocean in its susceptibility to change. Not only with the seasons, but with the days, does its beauty vary. And even through a summer day it is never the same scene an hour at a time. Like a kaleidoscope, which the slightest alteration in position occasions a totally new view, so the forests and the mountains along this scenic route assume wholly new appearances with every passing cloud and every weather condition.

Now that the exaggerated bug-bear of the B. & O. curves has been finally disposed of, and its road-bed made second to none, the excellence of its equipment and the peculiarly "make-yourself-comfortable-we'll-do-everything-we-can-for-you" atmosphere which surrounds the traveler the instant he steps aboard a through train on this road will shortly double and treble the number of B. & O. enthusiasts, to whom the journey over mountains is less a journey than a pleasure.—*Pittsburg Star*, June 5, 1897.—*Advt.*

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THE AMERICAN

A NATIONAL JOURNAL

VOL. XXVII—No. 674

PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1897

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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

MUCH ado is being made by the gold press over an article written by Ex-Governor Horace Boies, of Iowa, for a forthcoming book, in which that gentleman gives it as his opinion that it is folly for the Democratic party, having been defeated on the issue of free silver coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, to continue the struggle on those lines, that there is no hope of winning on that issue, and in which he advises Democrats to compromise the money question. There is much disposition to herald this enunciation of Ex-Governor Boies as an abandonment of the silver cause. But there is no occasion to do so. Ex-Governor Boies' stand is what it has always been. Having never espoused the cause of free silver he could not abandon it. Only a few weeks before the meeting of the Chicago Convention which pledged the Democratic party to advocacy of the free coinage of both silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1, the Democrats of Iowa, in selecting delegates to that convention and presenting the name of Horace Boies as Presidential candidate, adopted an equivocal financial plank.

It is true that in seeking political preferment ex-Governor

Boies permitted his friends to indignantly deny insinuations as to his weak-kneedness on the financial question, the equivocal declarations of the Iowa Convention which were taken to represent his position being used against him, and to avow that their candidate was an unflinching champion of the free coinage of silver. What is more, we fancy we do the ex-Governor no injustice in asserting that he would have gladly espoused free silver coinage to get the Democratic nomination and unhesitatingly accepted a nomination made on a platform declaring for the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 1 to 16. But men are not over-tenacious of principles espoused under such circumstances. When the temptation for their espousal is gone men gravitate back to their old love. And so it is with ex-Governor Boies. He stands to-day on the financial question where he stood before the Chicago Convention, occupies the same position to-day as he did then, a position he never renounced further than by ceasing to press his views and bowing to the will of the Chicago Convention. In short, during the campaign, he kept his views in abeyance and gave his adhesion to more radical ones, but he never abandoned his own. He simply subordinated his views to the views of the majority of his party.

THE last campaign having been fought out by the Democratic party on lines more radical than the judgment of ex-Governor Boies would have dictated, having been fought out on such lines and lost, the ex-Governor deems it timely to again come forward with a makeshift. Having been defeated, let us change our lines of battle, let us not invite a second defeat by following old lines, by laying ourselves open to old and fatal weaknesses. So argues ex-Governor Boies, and we agree with him thus far. But we want to broaden the lines of battle not narrow them. We want to extend our lines of battle where we were outflanked, and attack our opponents where most vulnerable. We cannot afford to contract our lines of battle, put forward a compromise, and thus put ourselves during the campaign in the position of apologists. To win, the next campaign must be one of aggression not apology. And if the Democratic party will not broaden out, will not broaden out to meet the aggressions of the moneyed cliques, who strive to build up their own riches by preying upon our producing classes, in whatsoever guise such aggressions may be made, whether made through our monetary or through our transportation systems, both of which the speculative cliques strive to monopolize and control for their own benefit, that party cannot lead successfully. To trifle with such makeshifts as that put forward by ex-Governor Boies, a makeshift calculated to narrow the issue, while our opponents, bent on enslaving our producing classes to an oligarchy of wealth, broaden their aggressions, is to invite defeat.

AS THE article which has raised all this turmoil around ex-Governor Boies is yet to be published in full, and our information as to the detail of the proposed makeshift is but fragmentary, we hesitate to comment upon it, fearing to do injustice to the dis-

pictorial or literary value, and the genius of publisher and salesman completely overtops the talent of the industrious authors and artists.

The office of poet laureate of England is likely to die with the present reign. The holder of it could not more happily play the courtier—which is his chief function after all—than by performing hari-kari as a picturesque wind-up of the royal celebration. In a Pickwickian sense, of course. It would be the most popular feature of the show with the reading public, who would jubilate in jingly choruses worthy of the writer of the Jubilee Ode himself.

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To win fair Greece out of the tyrant's hands,
And those usurping Ishmaelites deprive
Of woful Thrace, which now captived stands,
You must from realms and seas the Turks forth drive,
As Godfrey chased them from Judah's lands.
And in this legend, all that glorious deed
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